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# Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 IO-11 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAJ-01

SAM-01 AID-05 EB-07 CIEP-01 TRSE-00 STR-04 OMB-01

CEA-01 COME-00 LAB-04 SIL-01 FEAE-00 INT-05 AF-06

NEA-10 ACDA-05 /122 W
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FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2112
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 0230

MOSCOW ALSO FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR DA
SUBJ: ROUNDUP ON MEETING OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS

REF: COPENHAGEN 0208 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: MOST IMPORTANT THING ABOUT MEETING OF SOCIALIST LEADERS ACORDING TO #2 MAN IN DANISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS THAT MEETING TOOK PLACE. MOST SIGNIFICANT FIGURES WERE SCHMIDT AND BRANDT; GONZALES OF SPAIN WAS ALSO IMPRESSIVE. IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES WERE REVEALED AMONG PARTIES ON ECONOMIC MATTERS AND SOCIALIST PARTY RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST PARTIES. MEETING DECIDED TO LEND SUPPORT TO SPANISH SOCIALISTS AND BROADEN SUPPORT FOR PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY AND GOVERNMENT. FULL AGENDA LEFT NO TIME FOR DISCUSSION OF PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY EXCEPT IN ECONOMIC CONTEXT. DANES ARE PLEASED WITH CONFERENCE AND FLATTERED BY ALLEGATIONS THAT US WAS KEENLY INTERESTED IN ELSINORE PROCEEDINGS. END SUMMARY.

1. ACCORDING TO KJELD OLESEN, SPOKEMAN FOR THE DANISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, THE MOST IMPORTANT THING ABOUT THE MEETING WAS THAT IT TOOK PLACE. CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS IN ELSINORE JANUARY 18 AND 19 BROUGHT TOGETHER LEADERS OF 19 PARTIES AND/OR GOVERNMENTS FROM 18 COUNTRIES WITH CLAIMED VOTING SUPPORT AMONG THEIR RESPECTIVE POPULATIONS OF OVER 53 MILLION (SPANISH PSOE DOES NOT CLAIM VOTING ADHERENTS). OF POLITICAL FIGURES APPEARING AT MEETING, WILLY BRANDT AND HELMUT SCHMIDT WERE CLEARLY OUTSTANDING PERSONALITIES, PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF WHAT THEY REPRESENT BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF THE DEFINITION OF THEIR POSITIONS, THE ARTICULATION WITH WHICH THEY PRESENTED THEM, THEIR OBVIOUS MASTERY OF ISSUES AND THEIR ADEPTNESS WITH LANGUAGES. ANKER JORGENSEN, AS HOST, CAME OFF WELL, BUT HIS DECISION TO CONFINE HIS SPOKEN REMARKS TO DANISH LIMITED HIS EFFECTIVENESS. AMONG LESSER PERSONALI-
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TIES AT CONFERENCE, FELIPE GONZALES MADE EXCELLENT IMPRES-SION WITH HIS OBVIOUSLY WELL-CONSIDERED, RELATIVELY UNEMOTIONAL AND ARTICULATE EXPOSITIONS.

2. ON MAJOR PROBLEM OF CONFERENCE, ECONOMIC CRIS AND UNEMPLOYMENT, HELMUT SCHMIDT DEFENDED (WHEN ATTACHED FOR NOT DOING MORE) FRG DEFICIT SPENDING PROGRAM WITH RESULTANT INCREASE IN IMPORTS WHILE EXPORTS HAVE DECLINED. HE

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DISCUSSED HIS FEAR OF GIVING A NEW "KICK" TO INFLATION IN
GERMANY, WHICH HE SAID IS SLOWING, AND THE FRG'S PLANS TO
END DEFICIT SPENDING IN 1977 WHEN HE EXPECTS THE CRISIS
WILL BE OVERCOME. SCHMIDT DEPLORED THE UNFORTUNATE GAP
BETWEEN ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND ACHIEVEMENT OF IMPROVED OR
FULL EMPLOYMENT AND SAID THAT RAMBOUILLET MEETING HAD
LAID THE BROAD BASIS FOR RECOVERY. HE SAID THAT PERMISSIVE
BEHAVIOR OF GOVERNMENTS IN EARLY 1970'S WHICH HAD LED TO
THE ECONOMIC CRISIS MUST NOT BE REPEATED IN LATTER HALF
OF 1970'S.

3. SCHMIDT ALSO GAVE, WITH ANKER JORGENSEN, CLEAR RESPONSE
TO MITTERAND DECLARATION ON CINTINUING ALLIANCE OF FRENCH
SOCIALIST PARTY WITH COMMUNISTS. JORGENSEN SAID THAT THE
MEETING COULD NOT ACCEPT THAT COMMUNIST PARTIES, WHICH THE
SOCIALIST PARTIES HAVE ALWAYS CONSIDERED UNDEMOCRATIC,
WERE NOT PARTIES COMMITTED TO DEMOCRACY. HOWEVER, THE
MEETING HAD DECIDED TO LEAVE DECISIONS RE RELATIONS TO
COMMUNIST PARTIES TO THE NATIONAL PARTIES IN INDIVIDUAL COUNTIRES
WHICH MUST DECIDE, AFTER CAREFUL ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL
SITUATION, WHAT POSITION THEY WOULD ADOPT.

4. SCHMIDT EMPHASIZED THAT GERMAN WORKERS - UNLIKE MITTERAND'S
CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SITUATION IN FRANCE -DID NOT
DEMAND A UNITY WHICH WOULD EMBRACE THE COMMUNISTS, AND THAT
GERMANY HAD NO REASON
TO WELCOME (BEGRUESSEN) AN ALLIANCE WITH THE COMMUNISTS.
IN THEORETICAL TERMS, HE THEN PUT FORWARD THE CONNECTION
BETWEEN DOMESTIC POLICIES OR TACTICS ADOPTED BY NATIONAL
PARTIES, AND THE EFFECT SUCH DECISIONS HAD ON THE ABILITY
OF A COUNTRY TO IMPLEMENT ITS FOREIGN POLICY COMMITMENTS.
CERTAINLY, SCHMIDT SAID, DOMESTIC POLITICAL DECISIONS
COULD HAVE AN EFFECT ON THE QUALITY OF A COUNTRY'S PARTI-
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CIPATION IN SUCH GROUPINGS AS THE EEC AND THE ATLANTIC
COMMUNITY OR WITH RELATION TO THE LEVEL OF DEFENSE SPENDING
A COUNTRY MIGHT APPROVE (REFTEL).

5. THE CONFERENCE ADOPTED A PROGRAM FULLY SUPPORTIVE
OF FELIPE GONZALES' PSOE IN DEMANDING ELIMINATION OF

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FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
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MOSCOW ALSO FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

ARCHAIC, FASCIST-FRANCO INSTITUTIONS IN SPAIN; GRANTING
OF TRADE UNION LIBERTY; FREEDOM FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
POLITICAL PARTIES (INCLUDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY) AND
THEIR FREE FUNCTIONING; FREE ELECTIONS; FREEDOM OF
POLITICAL AND TRADE UNION PRISONERS; AND ESTABLISHMENT OF
THE RIGHT TO FREE EXPRESSION. GONZALES SAID THAT IT WAS
IMPOSSIBLE TO MEASURE THE STRENGTH OF THE PSOE IN SPAIN
WITHOUT FREE ELECTIONS, BUT THAT HE HOPED IT WOULD BE
ABOUT THE SAME AS THE STRENGTH OF
THE SOCIALIST PARTY
IN PORTUGAL. AS REPORTED REFTEL, HE STATED THAT HIS
PARTY WOULD NOT ENTER THE CORTES SO LONG AS THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF SPAIN WAS NOT GRANTED LEGAL STATUS.

6. THE CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS DID NOT HAVE
TIME TO ADDRESS THE THEME OF "WHITHER SOCIAL DEMOCRACY".
DANISH MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, PER HAEKKERUP,
LAMENTED THIS OMISSION IN A JANUARY 20 CONVERSATION WITH
POLCOUNS. HEKKERUP ALSO GRUMBLED OVER THE LARGE NUMBER
OF PARTICIPANTS IN EACH SESSION (ABOUT 80) WHICH INHIBITED
DISCUSSIONS AMONG PRINCIPALS.

7. SOME INSIGHT, HOWEVER, INTO MORE PHILOSOPHICAL THEMES WAS GIVEN
BY ANKER JORGENSEN IN HIS OPENING ADDRESS TO THE MEETING.
HE SAID: "WE CAN'T TAKE IT FOR GRANTED THAT IT WILL BE
PROPER AND JUSTIFIABLE TO CARRY ON WITH A HIGH RATE OF
INCREASEIN MATERIAL WEALTH." AND: "WE MUST CREATE
HARMONY BETWEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION IN THE
INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD AND THE SUPPLY OF ENERGY AND RAW
MATERIALS." AND LATER HE SAID: "WE LOOK WITH FAVOR
ON THE DESIRE OF MANY COUNTRIES, SUCH AS VENEZUELA AND
MEXICO, TO ESTABLISH A NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER."
THE RESULT OF THESE THOUGHTS WAS THE GENERAL AGREEMENT
TO PURSUE RELATIONS WITH LIKE-MINDED COUNTRIES IN SOUTH
AMERICA, AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST IN AN EFFORT TO
COOPERATE WITH THEM IN THE ACHIEVEMENT TO THESE AIMS.
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8. TO BE SURE, SUCH MEASURES OUGHT TO BE TAKEN WITHOUT
WORSENING THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED
WORLD WHICH, JORGENSEN SAID, WOULD NOT SERVE THE INTEREST
OF ANYONE. BUT ALONG WITH THIS, JORGENSENSAID,-
EXPRESSING WHAT CERTAINLY MUST BE A NORDIC VIEW - THAT
IF THE SOCIALIST GOVERNMENTS CANNOT REACH FULL EMPLOYMENT
AND MAINTAIN A FAIR PRICE STABILITY WITHIN THE PRESENT
ECONOMIC STRUCTURE, THEN ANOTHER STRUCTURE MUST BE
CREATED WHICH WILL MAKE THAT POSSIBLE. IF NOTHING ELSE

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MADE CLEAR THE DIFFERENCES IN ECONMIC POINTS OF VIEW
BETWEEN THE VARIOUS LEADERS, HELMUT SCHMIDT'S DEFENSE OF
THE FRG'S ECONOMIC MEASURES DID.

9. FINALLY, THE DANISH HOST WERE DELIGHTED TO HAVE BEEN
ABLE TO GATHER SO IMPRESSIVE A GROUP OF EUROPEAN LEADERS
AT ELSINORE AND WERE SOMEWHAT TITILLATED TO HAVE IT THOUGHT
THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS AN INVISIBLE PRESENCE STALKING
THE CASTLE RAMPARTS WHICH WOULD REALLY APPEAR IN THE
PERSON OF SECRETARY KISSINGER ON HIS VISIT TO COPENHAGEN
THE DAY AFTER THE MEETING'S END. ALL OF THESE ASPECTS
ADDED TO DANISH STATURE AMONG THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC
PARTIES AND TENDED ALSO TO REINFORCE DENMARK'S ROLE AS A PARTI-
CIPANT IN THE EEC AND NATO AND AS A NOTICED NATION IN THE WORLD.

10. WITH RESPECT TO THE CONFERENCE DECISION TO LEAVE
RELATIONS OF SOCIALIST PARTIES WITH COMMUNIST PARTIES TO
THE INDIVIDUAL PARTY DECISIONS, IT WAS PROBABLY THE ONLY
DECISION WHICH COULD BE ADOPTED WHILE AT THE SAME TIME
MAINTAINING, AT LEAST SUPERFICIALLY, THE SOLIDARITY OF
THE SOCIALISTS IN EUROPE.

1. THERE WAS LITTLE PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF THE SITUATION
IN ITALY, BUT IN ONE OF THE CLOSED SESSIONS, PSI'S
DE MARTINO REPORTEDLY PRESENTED HIS OFT-REPEATED JUSTIFI-
CATION OF THE PSI'S WITHDRAWAL OF SUPPORT FROM MORO AND
ITS REASONS FOR FAVORING PCI ASSOCIATION IN A NEW
ITALIAN GOVERNMENT. PSDI'S CARIGLIA OPPOSED THE PSI'S
INTENT TO INVOLVE THE PCI IN GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY.

12. IT IS NOT YET CLEAR WHAT EFFECT AND INFLUENCE WILSON,
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PALME, KREISKY, AND MINTOFF, INTER ALIA, MAY HAVE EXERTED IN CLOSED
CONFERENCE SESSIONS. ALMOST NO PRESS COVERAGE, HOWEVER,
WAS DEVOTED TO THEM. AND, EXCEPT FOR WILSON'S SHORT
ANSWERS TO A COUPLE OF QUESTIONS, NONE OF THEM CONTRIBUTED
TO ANY OF THE PRESS CONFERENCES.
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# Message Attributes

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**Secure:** OPEN
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**Subject:** ROUNDUP ON MEETING OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS
**TAGS:** PFOR, OCON, DA, XG
**To:** STATE MOSCOW
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